1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tɛ.upe''yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa''ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly distinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well.

After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack declared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

> The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.
>
> As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.
>
> The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwɛ'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 535 574 [177]

appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] [439] [534] [114]

All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

583 584

About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

591 [768]

Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

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A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be. [221]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance. [785] [574]

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways --roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk. [415] [442] [846]

In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then [262] [222]

[P. 376, A]

881 [271] [262] [263] [124] [262]

active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202]

The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778]

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178]

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824]

The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824]

After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782] [431] [178]

[515]

After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302]

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178

The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574]

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades [535] ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting [177] [302] are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, in deference to white notions of modesty which are strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] [871] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship. 428 616 526 574

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached. 596

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti). 592 596 [621] [619]

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership. 621 [628]

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation. [171]

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the [592] 622

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled. [587]

1855 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 200 at Gold Canyon. 175

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 45) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Soko, horse	Chuiep, nose
Pacha, book	Tatu, hand
Taui, knife	Och, hat
Paloat, gun	Opele, water
Etmokapu, percussion cap	Uikes, trousers
Tsiuch, hair	Melio, belt
Tiak, teeth	Atago, no
Uike, eyes	Ape, yes"
Anga, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garlund Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [648]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($8 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [574] [435]

John McMarlin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of separate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 64). [431]

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mibʔshigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hutʔ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 300 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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/For festive activities associated with the pinenut dance, see category 535./

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[777] and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
[224] contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

[535] On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
[574] friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
[787] relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
[856] were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
[824] climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

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[526] After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
[778] foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
[533] signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] [272] [263] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] [761] [752] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she will break her leg or her back.

[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 574 [178] 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (dewé?) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (hé·du? ʔéhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (ʔuwí·yu) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

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On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was in- ● [574] vited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had
535 no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔówi·yá·ʔi, ʔímiʔhó·ʔiya, nólonáne, and héyaya.

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535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéhe? -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?we?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. [562] Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women. 881 535 533

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose. 881 535 431 178

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women. 881 431 [178]

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (ʔe ʔwé ʔwe ʔ) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to 881 574 [535] [262]

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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624 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remaining people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gambling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešíši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
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881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí'ya, melehéhe? and (e)wéʔwe?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

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574 women started the circle dance (ʔe ʔwé ʔwe ʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

881 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
224 tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not men-
[178] tion it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crisis rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

W N 175 177 648

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

W [183] [476] [574] [735]

W 175 177 361 648

Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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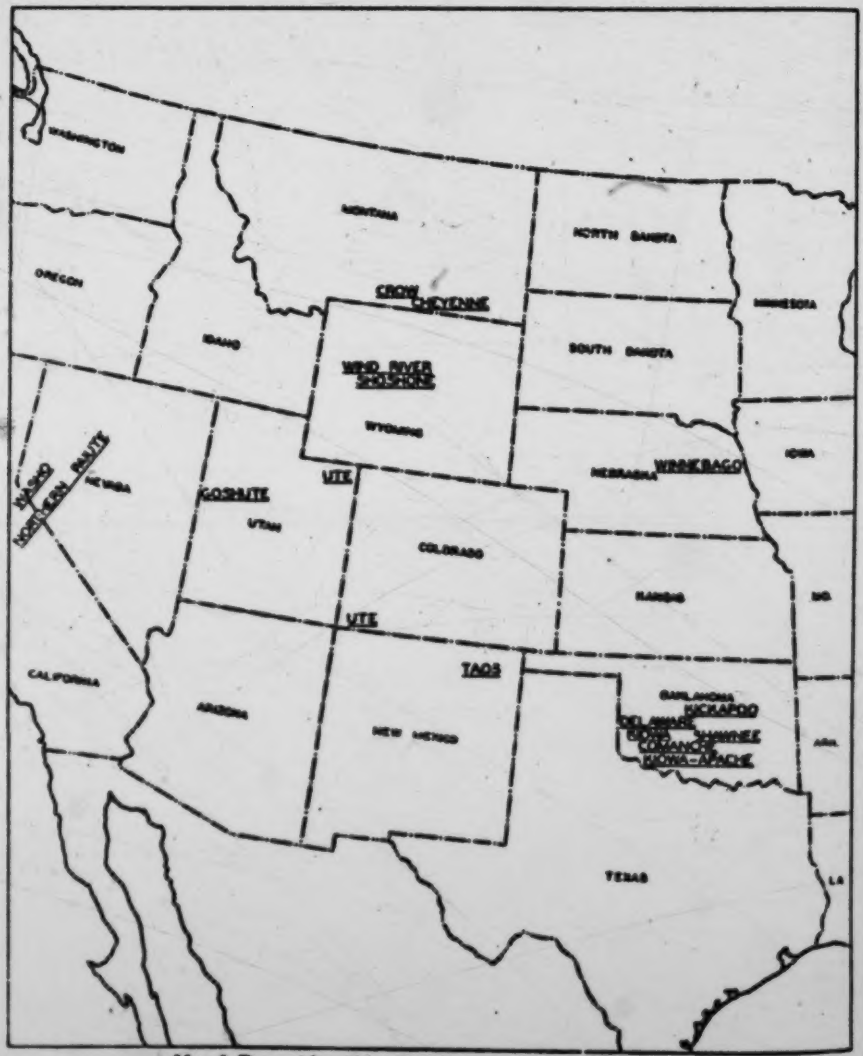
2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.



Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

Element	Occurrence																	
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ab S	Du I	Du S	Win	No C	Cr I	Cr S	WhS	Uta	Gos	P-P	Tmo	
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+·I	+	+		
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+		
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+		
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+		
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+		
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+		
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+		
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•I	+	
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+		
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+		
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+		
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+		
265a. (See note)															•			

NW
171
796*
796
[571]
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